Documenting: *The Terror We Help Impose in Greece and Guatemala, Pps. 2-4*

While We Spend Billions to Burn Up Vietnam's Cities

"There is a clear and present danger to the very existence of our cities. . . . The central issue with which this nation has temporized for the last 100 years—to make equality real for the black man—was bound sooner or later to land on the doorstep of each of us."

—From the report on the Newark "riot" February 10.

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Saigon Afire Now — Will It Be Washington In April?

It is no longer necessary to argue the mendacity of our leaders and the incompetence of our military. Mr. Johnson has assured us that the successful surprise attack on 100 South Vietnamese cities and towns was really a Viet Cong defeat; if they suffer a few more such defeats, we'll be lucky to settle for a coalition government in Hawaii.* No nation ever had the misfortune to be led by a bigger team of clowns than those Johnson and Rusk, Westmoreland and Bunker, put through their daily capers in Washington and Saigon; their body counts alone are enough to make Bob Hope jealous: these seem to be based on an extension to warfare of installment credit principles—count now, kill later.

Some Bodies We'd Rather Not Count

We still don't know what hit us. The debris is not all in Saigon and Hue. The world's biggest intelligence apparatus was caught by surprise. Our No. 1 Whiz Kid, the retiring Secretary of Defense McNamara, capped his record of misjudgments on Vietnam by preparing a final defense "posture" statement in which he reported (see box this page) "a drop in [Viet Cong] combat efficiency and morale"! The day he read this report to the Senate Armed Services Committee the Viet Cong made their nationwide raids. Neither under Japanese nor French occupation were the rebels ever able to stage such widespread and coordinated attack. Yet we have 500,000 troops in the country as compared with the 60,000 of the French; our Army is incomparably better supplied with firepower and air power; and for three years we have been bombing the North so heavily that every town and city except Hanoi and Haiphong is in ruins.

When the bodies are really counted, it will be seen that one of the major casualties was our delusion about victory by airpower: all that boom-boom did not keep the enemy from showing up at Langvei with tanks. Three years of interdiction by airpower and the rebels are steadily better equipped; the days when they depended on weapons captured from our side are long over. Another casualty is the reputation of Westmoreland and our Joint Chiefs of Staff. On TV Westmoreland and Wheeler began to look more and more pathetic as they clung to those inflated body count box scores which only they still take seriously. It is as if they mistake the art of warfare for the demolition and extermination business. Giap is proving that superior military and political skill can win over vastly superior firepower, i.e. brain power over bulk. This is what did in the dinosaur.

The Viet Cong Must Have Infiltrated His Computers

"Country-wide, the evidence appears overwhelming that beginning in 1966 Communist local and guerrilla forces have sustained substantial attrition. As a result there has been a drop in combat efficiency and morale. . . . I should caution, however, that the Communists are well aware of the deterioration of their guerrilla forces . . . etc. . . etc. . . ."

—From McNamara's annual defense budget statement dated Jan. 22 but not delivered to the Senate Armed Services Committee until Feb. 1 when all South Vietnam was under surprise attack.

Two events during the uprising were deadly. They will never be forgotten as symbols the world over of what the Pax Americana really means for the people we claim to be protecting. One occurred at Bentre after it was shelled "regardless of civilian casualties", as the ordinarily unemotional AP reported Feb. 7, "to rout the Vietcong." A U.S. Major explained, "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it." This will go down in the history books as typical of our whole Vietnamese campaign. The whole country is slowly being burnt down to "save it." To apply scorched earth tactics to one's own country is heroic; to apply it to a country one claims to be saving is brutal and cowardly. Everywhere we call in artillery and air rather than fight it out hand-to-hand with the guerrillas; this has been characteristic of our intervention from the beginning and this is the secret of why the rebellion grows ever stronger. It is we who rally the people to the other side.

The other incident took place at Khe San where we turned away not only civilian refugees but allied forces fleeing the fallen camp of Langvei. We not only refused them shelter but disarmed them before driving them away. The best account was a magnificent on-the-spot piece of journalism by

(*Continued on Page Five*)

*** Sir Robert Thompson, who ran Britain's successful anti-guerrilla campaign in Malaya and was head of the British Advisory Mission in South Vietnam from 1961 to 1965, wrote of these attacks in the London Sunday Times Feb. 11, "In terms of guerrilla and mobile warfare, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap has achieved a master stroke in South Vietnam and has greatly enhanced his reputation—if such a thing were possible—as an outstanding General and victor of Dien Bien Phu."**

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Three Pages of Documentary Evidence on America's Shame

The Fascism U.S. Arms and Influence Impose on Guatemala and Greece

By Father Thomas Melville*

In recent weeks, Guatemala has been in the world's news because of a series of killings, which the press calls a series of vindictive measures on the part of the right and left wing extremists. Meanwhile the government supposedly maintains the position of left-center while trying to crush the violence on both sides. This is simply not true. The government almost openly supports the rightist groups and many of their members hold high positions in her.

Three Right-Wing Terrorist Groups

The National Liberation Movement (MLN) which was started by assassinated president Castille Armas and is still his heir, makes no bones about the fact that it controls the rightist terrorists called the 'Mano Blanca' (White Hand). NOA (New Anti-communist Organization), another band of terrorists on the right is headed by Colonel of the Army Maximo Zepeda Martinez and Lieutenants Hugo Edmundo Alonzo and Luis Dominguez, all on active duty. The headquarters of the 'Mano Blanca' is in the main police building in downtown Guatemala. The third rightist terrorist group, CADEG, is composed of landowners to 'take care' of any 'troublemakers.' This, of course, includes anyone who begins protesting too loudly about the injustices of the actual situation.

During the past 18 months, these three groups together have assassinated more than 2,800 intellectuals, students, labor leaders and peasants who have in any way tried to organize and combat the ills of Guatemalan society. The 'Mano Blanca' itself admits that no more than one in ten of these is probably a communist.

I personally know a good friend and benefactor of the Maryknoll Fathers, a daily communicant, who accused a Christian labor leader who was trying to organize a union on his big sugar plantation of Communism and thus had him shot by the army. This man today, like many other landowners, maintains army guards on his farm to avoid the repetition of such an occurrence in the future.

When the cooperative I started among the destitute Indians of Quezaltenango was finally capable of buying its own truck, the rich tried to pay the drivers to run the vehicle off a

Alliance? For Progress or Police States?

"Many of us have been pleased at the attention that Latin America received from John Kennedy and Pope John, but not with the results. And what are these results? Simply that the old order of injustice and tyranny has been strengthened and not weakened by this interest.

"The U. S. government has sent jets, helicopters, weapons, money and military advisers to the government that only strengthens its control over the peasant masses. This past year, 1967, salaries, uniforms, arms and vehicles for 2,000 new policemen were paid for by the Alliance for Progress. This year another 1,500 are projected for enlistment, to say nothing about the secret intelligence services rendered for ferreting out all 'social disturbers.'"

—Father Thomas Melville, Catholic Reporter, *Jan. 31*

*** Writing in the Jan. 31 issue of the National Catholic Reporter, P.O. Box 281, Kansas City, Mo. 64141, $8 a year. We commend it highly to our readers.**

McNamara Seems As Poorly Informed on Latin America's Military As On Vietnam

"Most Latin Americans aspire, as we know, to a peaceful revolution in their societies and their personal well-being. Since they want it without violence, and soon, they need the relatively modest military and economic help we are providing. Without this help, the prospects for realizing their aspirations would be slim indeed."

—McNamara's Annual Defense Report Feb. 1.

"Over the past 5 years a new wave of militarism has been sweeping across Latin America. Between March 1962 and June 1966 nine duly elected, constitutional, civilian presidents were deposed by military coups. . . .

"Significantly, five of the six 1962 and 1963 coups were triggered by elections—either by elections just completed or those scheduled for the near future. In the two post election 1962 coups, the Argentine military intervened to protect itself against the populist Peronistas whom they had deposed 7 years previous, while the Peruvian military intervened to protect itself from the populist Apristas whom they had ousted 14 years earlier. In the three preelection 1963 coups, the Guatemalan military acted to prevent the restoration of the populist revolutionary movement, headed by Juan Jose Arevalo, whose previous government in 1945-50 had led to the Arbenz regime which the military ousted in 1954. The Ecuadorean military acted to prevent the expected return of populist leader Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra whom they had deposed 2 years before, and the Honduran military intervened to prevent the expected triumph of the populist Liberal Party candidate Rojas Alvarado.

"The actual threat of communism also fails to explain the military motivation. While it is true that Bosch refused to outlaw the Communist Party and that there was evidence of Communist influence in the Goulart and Arosmena administrations, in none of the eight countries was there a threat of a Communist takeover. The military, however, tended to equate populism with Communism. . . .

"The Alliance for Progress may have also contributed to the current wave of military interventions. For it was the view of many Latin American military leaders that U. S. Government's public advocacy and support for crash programs of material development and social change conducted through the medium of authentically democratic regimes was tantamount to encouraging political instability.

"When the Latin American political spectrum is considered as a unit, the armed forces today are an antidemocratic force. Except in those six countries that now have essentially nonpolitical military institutions, present military rule or recent military intervention has prevented the triumph of governments representative of the popular majority. Without the restraining effect of the military, populist governments would probably be in power in most Latin American countries today. . . . As the military continue to resist populist government and to slow down social reform, more pressures will increase tending toward a violent social upheaval. . . .

—The Latin American Military, Survey of the Alliance for Progress for Senate Foreign Relations Com., Oct. 1967.

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cliff. When the truck driver wouldn't be bought, at least four attempts were made to run it off the road, one of them successful. In the parish of San Antonio Huista, where my brother, also a Maryknoll priest, was pastor, the president of a land cooperative was killed by the town's wealthy, including the mayor.

In a situation such as outlined above, what is the peasant to do? He can do one of two things: he can surrender to the pressures to keep him down, and thus renounce his humanity; or he can protest, grab a gun and defend himself, his family and his neighbors. He has chosen the first road for the most part until recently, but there are now indications that he will do so not much longer.

The Archbishop and The Poor

And where does the hierarchy stand on all this? . . . Recently, the Archbishop, in the face of criticism for his weekly sermon to the poor to conform themselves to their lot, declared that henceforth his birthday would be a "Day for the Poor" and that he would be known as "the Archbishop of the Poor." On this day he gives out surplus food and old clothing to the people that come begging to his door. Some are still wondering what happens to them the other 364 days of the year.

In a meeting a few months ago of the peasant leaders in La Democracia, Huehuetenango, the Maryknoll superior of Guatemala told the assembled group that Christ said: "The poor you will always have with you," so that they had better conform themselves to their misery and not be agitating for change.

Having come to the conclusion that the actual state of violence, composed of the malnutrition, ignorance, sickness and hunger of the vast majority of the Guatemalan population, is the direct result of a capitalist system that makes the defenseless Indian compete against the powerful and well-armed landowner, my brother and I decided not to be silent accomplices of the mass murder that this system generates.

We began teaching the Indians that no one will defend their rights, if they do not defend them themselves. If the government and oligarchy are using arms to maintain them in their position of misery, then they have the obligation to take up arms and defend their God-given right to be men.

We were accused of being communists along with the people who listened to us, and were asked to leave the country by our religious superiors and the U. S. ambassador. We did so. But I say here that I am a communist only if Christ was a communist. I did what I did and will continue to do so because of the teachings of Christ and not because of Marx or Lenin. And I say here too, that we are many more than the hierarchy and the U. S. government think.

When the fight breaks out more in the open, let the world know that we do it not for Russia, not for China, nor any other country, but for Guatemala. Our response to the present situation is not because we have read either Marx or Lenin, but because we have read the New Testament.

As Once in Rome, So Now in Guatemala Christians Suspected Of Subversion

"This is not a matter of one nun or one priest or two priests. There are many more like these among the abundant clergy. The government should conduct a detailed investigation of all residence permits to make sure there is no further danger that a whole generation of youth is converted to Marxism with the added fanaticism characteristic of the Church."

—Clemente Marroquin Rojas, Vice-President of Guatemala, writing about the Maryknollers in the daily Impacto *of Guatemala City, quoted in* National Catholic Reporter, *Jan. 31.*

Another Maryknoll Priest Warns of New Vietnams Brewing in Latin America

"Guatemala smells like South Vietnam did a few years ago. There are the same United States military advisers by the hundreds, the same corrupt power structure, the same fear of communism to the point of paranoia, the same group of peasants weak in themselves but firmly determined that no foreigner is going to overcome them.

"Those who lead the Guatemalan revolution look at the United States involvement in Vietnam and say:

" 'You Americans, with a half million troops, with bombs, with napalm, with an air force, with the best military expertise in the world, with the finest technical aid, have not been able to contain the situation in half of one small Asian country.

" 'What is going to happen when you are confronted with ten Latin American countries? If you learn your lesson in Vietnam—we might say, if you repent of Vietnam—you will not be destroyed. If you repeat the Vietnam experience in Guatemala, in Colombia, in Bolivia, in Brazil, in Mexico, in Peru, we Latin Americans maintain that there will not be a United States.'

"As a North American priest, I believe that this insight of the Latin American, both the intellectual and the commonsense peasant, is correct. Those who guide United States foreign policy have found the formula for the destruction of the greatest nation in the world. The formula is to try to contain or to destroy valid popular revolutions. We cannot do it. The lesson of our history should teach us that raw power cannot be set against the will of man.

"In Guatemala, the United States is standing militarily behind an oligarchy of 2 percent of the Guatemalan people who possess 80 percent of the land and resultant power. . . .

"Over half the Guatemalan people are suffering from malnutrition. A wage of 50 cents a day in Guatemala is above average, but meat is 40 cents a pound and eggs 50 to 60 cents a dozen. This means that people don't eat and children die unnecessarily. Of the 70,000 a year who die in Guatemala, 30,000 are children. Guatemala's child mortality rate is 40 times that of the United States. . . .

"The so-called extremist right is directed and approved of by the army. I recall a visit to the town of Gualan in the department of Zacapa. I went there with a team of students from the National University to establish a new youth center. A week after the group was organized, its president received a death warning from the Mano Blanca (White Hand).

"I went alone to visit the head of the Mano Blanca and asked him why he was going to kill this lad. At first he denied sending the letter, but after a bit of discussion with him and his first assistant, the assistant said, 'Well, I know he's a Communist and so we're going to kill him.'

" 'How do you know?' I asked.

"He said, 'I know he's a Communist because I heard him say he would give his life for the poor.'

"With such a definition of communism, we find many new names in the Communist ranks, including Christ's."

—Father Blase Bonpane, of the Maryknoll Order, also withdrawn from Guatemala with the Melvilles, in the Washington Post, *Feb. 4.*

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A Report on Torture and Terror Which Shocked Europe But The U.S. Ignored

What That Military Junta We Arm Is Doing to Liberty in Greece

Amnesty International was founded in 1961 to aid political prisoners in all countries. It has branches in 25 countries and its chairman is Sean MacBride, former Foreign Minister of Ireland. The American chairman is Michael Straight, former editor of the New Republic. *It sent an investigating team to Greece last month and it submitted a report a few weeks ago to the Council of Europe on the reign of terror the U.S.-armed Greek military junta is imposing on Greece.*

To Expel Greece From Free Europe

The Council of Europe was formed in 1951 to be the Parliament of free Western Europe. It contains NATO and non-NATO countries. Amnesty International has consultative status with the Council. As a result of its report—which has gone all but unnoticed in the U.S. press—the Assembly of the Council voted Jan. 31 to exclude Greece from the Council unless it restored parliamentary democracy by next January. This action, too, has been all but unreported in this country, where public opinion accepts with docility the restoration of full diplomatic relations with, and military aid to, Europe's newest dictatorship in the very country where 20 years ago the Truman Doctrine launched us on the task of policing and maintaining a "free world." We have obtained the Amnesty International report and summarize it here:

The report begins by saying that of the 284 prisoners supposed to have been released under the Christmas amnesty, some were simply transferred to the prison islands of Deros and Yaros. It says there were 2,777 prisoners detained without trial on these bleak isles at the end of January, in addition to numerous others held without trial in prisons and police stations throughout Greece. It says, "It is believed that of these detained some 500 may have been active or potentially active Communists. The remainder cannot be described as 'Communists' in any accepted European sense of the word, and large numbers of them are old and infirm, having been arrested on security files prepared in many cases 20 years ago. . . . The prisoners come from all walks of life and include parliamentarians, professional people, intellectuals and artists."

Widespread use of torture was reported. The Amnesty International delegation took testimony from 16 persons who had been tortured and received evidence about 32 others still in prison. The standard initial torture is the *falanga*. "The prisoner is tied to a bench and the soles of his feet are beaten with a stick or pipe. Between beatings the prisoner is made to run around a bench under a heavy rain of blows. We examined the feet of a person who suffered this treatment four months before and his sole was covered with thick scar tissue. . . . Common methods accompanying *falanga* are: pouring water down the mouth and nose while the prisoner is screaming with pain; putting 'Tide' soap in the eyes, nose and mouth. . . ."

"Numerous incidents of sexually-oriented torture were reported." [The details as given in the report are simply too horrible to print—IFS.] Other techniques reported include: rubbing pepper on sensitive areas, putting out live cigarettes on various parts of the body, and use of electric shock.

"Many informants who have undergone torture" the report goes on, "consider that the non-physical methods were more difficult to bear. Certain prisoners are intentionally moved to cells within earshot of other prisoners who are being violently interrogated. This has caused a number of nervous breakdowns. One informant said that listening to the cries of others was worse than undergoing the torture, one wanted to run in and be beaten rather than listen to the sufferings of another. It is reported that Mikis Theoderakis, the composer, who was never physically tortured, suffered a nervous collapse under this method. . . .

"Theats to kill, maim and rape. People who have been tortured were often told that it would be repeated at a certain hour in the night, and were kept in constant terror by threats that they would have to undergo again what they had just experienced. . . .

"Signing declarations is considered by many to be the most inhuman technique of the regime. Compulsion to sign a paper denouncing parents, wife or political beliefs particularly affects a person of highly developed conscience and ideals. . . . One particularly moving case was that of a man who signed in order to be free to see his daughter who was dying of cancer. She died before he was released and he has had a nervous breakdown.

"The Security Police and the Military Police are un-restricted today in Greece. Since, in Mr. Pattakos' words, 'the laws sleep', the police may arrest anyone, in any place, at any time, with no obligation to charge him or inform anyone of his arrest. . . . Those who have particularly suffered at the hands of the security forces are the young people, those who are not known abroad, and those believed to be of the left."

A Cassandra-Cry Which Fell on Deaf Ears

"Today the Greeks see only two solutions for their freedom: help from abroad or civil war. If Greece comes to realize that it is abandoned by its friends, it will take up arms to fight for its freedom and that will be a terrible day for us, for Europe and for you. If armed resistance is the only solution for the Greeks, we can be sure that the Communists will join in that resistance; indeed they will try to take its leadership. Then the cry will be heard, 'Save Greece from communism' and there you have the ready-made Vietnam in Europe."

—Melina Mercouri, before the Woman's National Democratic Club, Washington, Post, *Jan. 23.*

Scenes From A Tepid Little Comedy Our Military Play With Those of Greece

"Although . . . the junta has not yet set a date for free elections . . . there is some movement towards a more constitutional regime."

—McNamara signaling restoration of full military aid to Greece in his latest defense budget, Feb 1.

"The draft constitution is based on an attempt to exclude from political activities not only the Communists but anyone whose progressive ideas make him, in the eyes of the right wing, likely to cooperate with the Communists . . . the restrictions contained in it may easily be used by those in power to stifle all opposition in Greece."

—From an exclusive report in The Times *(London) on the still secret draft of the new constitution being prepared for Greek's military dictatorship, Jan. 22.*

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(Continued from Page One)

Newbold Noyes in the *Washington Star* Feb. 11. The decision was based it is clear on two motives. One was an unwillingness to share precious supplies, but had they been Americans our men would have shared their last crust to give them shelter. The other was the suspicion that there might be Viet Cong among them. How can one fight a successful war when mistrust of one's own allies is so deep? Col. Lownds, the commander at Khe San, acted only after consulting higher quarters and was in agony over the decision. "This thing," he told Noyes, "can come back to haunt me—all of us. If these people say when the chips were down, after getting us to fight for you, you wouldn't protect us, then the whole civic action business here goes down the drain." The truth is that when the chips are down we feel that the "gooks" (or whatever the similar term of the moment) are expendable. To the darker peoples everywhere this incident will sound (fairly or unfairly) like "whitey" all over again. Don't think it won't rankle.

It's Nice to Be Among Friends

"In the small northern town of Ap Bon, the last shot was fired at 3:15 p.m. on Friday. Ten civilians lay dead in the main street. Two hundred and thirty-seven villagers, including many women, were in handcuffs as suspected Vietcong. The American marines led them away past a sign at the entrance to the village which read, 'This village is pacified. This is a friendly village. Unload your arms.'"

—*From Saigon in the London* Sunday Times, *Feb. 4.*

The idea that we Americans are a superior race, and are justified in using any means of mass killing to save American lives will be the argument for using tactical nuclear weapons in defense of Khe San. It is this racial angle above all which would make it madness for us to add nuclear weapons to the suffering we have already imposed on the Vietnamese people. Let just one "little" tactical nuclear weapon be used at Khe San and the moral devastation will be beyond calculation. It will stir race hate among the colored peoples everywhere; they will feel that again they and not whites are the guinea pigs of these terrible weapons. The Chinese will bank this away as moral capital for the day when they can wage nuclear war on us. At home the awful split among our own people will be vastly deepened. The alienation among the youth and for every American of conscience will be beyond anything we have yet experienced. By far the strongest reason for getting out of this Vietnamese war as soon as possible is because sooner or later it will carry us to that fatal step, that crime against mankind.

Just Before the Big Uprising—Maybe We'll Try Voodoo Next

"Psychological warfare experts in South Vietnam are using even astrology in an attempt to bring Viet Cong over to the Government side during the lunar new year season starting Tuesday. A professional astrologer known as Thai Son, who writes a popular horoscope for Saigon newspapers, has prepared a forecast sheet to be included in Tet gift packages. The Joint United States-Public Affairs Office says the sheet makes predictions favorable to the Government and unfavorable to its enemies. The United States agency is advising the Government on preparing and distributing 100,000 of the astrological charts as well as 28 other items, designed to boost the Chieu Hoi, or 'open arms' defection program."

—*AP Dispatch from Saigon,* Baltimore Sun, *Jan. 28.*

It is time to stand back and look where we are going. And to take a good look at ourselves. A first observation is that we can easily overestimate our national conscience; a major part of the protest against the war springs simply from the fact that we are losing it; if it were not for the heavy cost politicians like the Kennedys and organizations like the ADA would still be as complacent about the war as they were a few years ago. A second observation is that for all the poppycock about the Vietnamese war clashing with our past traditions we have long been an imperialistic people. The Truman Doctrine and the Johnson Doctrine are only extensions of the Monroe Doctrine, new embodiments of that Manifest Destiny to which our expansionists appealed in a less cautious day. Bolivar once said that we plagued Latin America in the name of liberty; today we do it to a growing sector of the world. On other pages of this issue you may read the painful testimony of what Pax Americana means in practice in countries as distant as Guatemala and Greece. Everywhere we talk liberty and social reform but we end up by allying ourselves with native oligarchies and military cliques—just as we have done in Vietnam. In the showdown, we reach for the gun.

And this I fear is what we are going to do at home in dealing with the rising threat of a Negro revolt. We could

(Continued on Page Six)

In The Lincoln Tradition?—He's Just A Black Power Agitator to These GOP Women

"What I'm going to have to say may not appeal to you, but I submit it is solidly in the Lincoln tradition."

Speaking was John C. Nevius, Republican member of the District of Columbia City Council at the Morning Political Study Group of the District League of Republican Women yesterday. "I suggest we take a fresh look into our own hearts and reassess our views on the racial discrimination we have all inherited," he told the 40 women. "The crime of today is a bitter fruit from our traditions of discrimination." Two women angrily muttered, "Nonsense", and walked out.

"Many of these people are culturally deprived, isolated. Some don't even know how to flush a toilet," Nevius said [of some newcomers to the District from the rural South].

"Disgusting" said a woman in red at the back.

"They can see that others in Washington live better, and as a result they are bitterly resentful. The principal problem is that they don't believe anybody cares."

"Why should we care?" one woman said.

Answering a query about the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's planned April March on Washington, Nevius said that while he understood why Dr. King and his followers were coming, he was troubled by what might happen. Dr. King is a peaceful man, and the people with him are essentially peaceful but—"His words were drowned by a chorus of "Yaa-aah's". "They ought to shoot them all," one woman shouted, twice.

—*Carolyn Wells, Women's Page,* Washington Post *Feb. 9.*

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(*Continued from Page Five*)

be in the first stage of what Mao has envisaged—a world-wide colonial uprising against American power, accompanied by a complementary and similar rising of blacks in the racial colonies that our ghettoes have become. It is foolish to dismiss Mao's vision because the guerrilla movements in Latin America and Africa have so far proven unsuccessful and because most Negroes still want only to be accepted fully as fellow Americans. These facts give us time to save our country but only if that time is utilized wisely and quickly. So long as the war goes on it must deepen racial bitterness at home and abroad because colored peoples are the victims and because colored men make up so disproportionately large a share of our own combat troops while the cry rises to save the white boys from the draft for the graduate schools. And the longer the war goes on the less money we have for the giant tasks of social reconstruction at home. We put $2 billion into the French attempt to hold Indochina. We have spent $65 billions since 1954 on our own. This year the war will easily cost $30 billions. The new "defense" budget has already burst its seams with the Pueblo affair, and it was already $80 billions. These stupendous sums are the counterpart of the precious time and energy we waste.

Thumb-Sucking Might Be Safer

"A State Department aide said yesterday that, barring a public incident such as the Pueblo's seizure, it is almost impossible to get intelligence operations stopped once they have been undertaken. 'Any technical information gives enormous comfort to the intelligence community,' he suggested."

—*Walter Pincus in the* Washington Post, *Feb. 6.*

Now Martin Luther King announces a new march on Washington for April. Negro moderates regard it as the last gasp of the non-violent movement. If it fails, they see race war in our cities. Dr. King, as always, is playing it by ear. He is a mystic. He has no concrete program. He has no clear aim except the full emancipation of his people. The nearest thing to a concrete objective is the Conyers bill which would spend $30 billions—the cost of one year in Vietnam—for the rehabilitation of our slums and the human beings twisted by life in these urban jungles. That bill hasn't a chance in this atmosphere. The whole trend is to cut rather than to increase welfare expenditures. The emphasis is on repressing crime in the streets, which translates into repressing the Negro. Johnson gave in to that trend by calling in his crime message for enactment of a Federal inciting-to-riot bill which the Administration liberals have fought for two years. The Attorney General, like the new report on the Newark "riots", has stressed that these racist convulsions are due to misery not conspiracy. But we are moving inexorably to the club, the gun and the jail, to a Vietnam at home.

Our Generals Smell Bad Even To Us

"Seoul, Feb. 2—'They can smell them. They can smell the Americans.' Roughly translated this was a South Korean officer's explanation today of why North Korean Communist infiltrators have greater success in crawling around GI outposts than outposts manned by the South Korean Army. Americans are heavy meat eaters, which gives them an odor detectable by the rice-and-vegetable eating Koreans . . . Shaving lotion and chewing gum have now been banned for American troops on the parallel, but no one is about to take away their hamburger and steak—smell or no smell."

—Baltimore Sun, *Feb. 3.*

Troops are being trained to fight urban guerrillas. GIs in Vietnam are being offered discharge 90 days early if they join an urban police force back home. Dr. King promises non-violence but he also projects a vast sit-down to bring Washington to a standstill unless it prepares to give the Negro what he wants. If he fails, more Negro youth will turn to the revolutionary way. The chances of avoiding some outburst of violence during those April demonstrations will grow slimmer the longer they last. Some shooting, even accidental, may anger even Washington's apathetic Negro population and set off racial fighting here and by chain reaction in other cities. To move toward the end of the war, to show a readiness to spend for reconstruction at home instead of devastation abroad, would change the whole atmosphere. Must we wait until the fires that rage in Saigon set Washington ablaze too?

6 p.m. Feb. 12

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